A

Looking-Glass

FOR THE

TIMES

IN THE

Tryal and Martyrdom

OF

King CHARLES the I.

Of Glorious Memory.

With His Excellent SPEECH on the Scaffold which was Erected before His Royal Palace at *Whitehall*.

With the CHARGE of the Commons of *England*.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year MDCLXXXIX.

LONDON,

Printed in the Year M DCC LXXIX.

THE Charge of the Commons of *England*, AGAINST CHARLES STUART King of ENGLAND,

Of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes, Exhibited to the High Court of Juſtice, *Saturday, January 20th.* 1648.

The Court being ſate, and the Priſoner at the Bar, Mr. *Cook* Solicitor General, ſpake thus; *My Lord, in behalf of the Commons of* England, *and of all the People thereof, I do Accuſe* Charles Stuart, *here preſent, of High Treaſon, and High Miſdemeanors: And I do in the Name of the Commons of* England, *deſire the Charge may be read unto Him*: Which the Clerk then read, as followeth.

THat *the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *being admitted King of* England, *and therein truſted with a* limited Power, *to Govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwiſe: And by his Truſt, Oath, and Office, being obliged to uſe the Power committed to Him,* For the Good and Benefit of the People, *and for the Preſervation of their Rights and Liberties: Yet nevertheleſs, out of a* wicked Deſign, *to erect and uphold in Himſelf an Unlimited and Tyrannical Power, to Rule* according to His Will, *and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People: Yea, to take away, and*

make void the Foundations thereof, and of all Redreſs and Remedy of Miſ-government, which by the fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, were reſerved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and ſucceſſive Parliaments, or National Meetings in Councel: He, the ſaid Charles Stuart, *for accompliſhment of ſuch his* Deſigns, *and for the Protecting of Himſelf and his Adherents, in His and Their* wicked Practices *to the ſame Ends, hath Trayterouſly and Maliciouſly levyed War againſt the* preſent Parliament, and the People therein repreſented.

Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of June, *in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſix hundred forty and two, at* Beverly, *in the County of* York: *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* July, *in the year aforeſaid, in the County of the City of* York: *And upon, or about the twenty fourth day of* Auguſt, *in the ſame year, at the County of the Town of* Nottingham (*when, and where He ſet up* His Standard of War;) *And alſo on, or about the twenty third day of* October, *in the ſame year, at* Edg-hill, *and* Keinton-field, *in the County of* Warwick: *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the ſame year, at* Brainchford, *in the County of* Middleſex: *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* Auguſt, *in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſix hundred forty and three, at* Caveſham-Bridge, *near* Reding, *in the County of* Berks: *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* October, *in the year laſt mentioned, at, or near the City of* Gloceſter: *And upon, or about thirtieth day of* November, *in the year laſt mentioned, at* Newbery *in the County of* Berks: *And upon, or about the one and thirtieth day of* July, *in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſix hundred fourty and four, at* Cropredy-Bridge, *in the County of* Oxon: *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* September, *in the year laſt mentioned, at* Bodmin, *and other places near adjacent, in the County of* Cornwal: *And upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the year laſt mentioned, at* Newbery *aforeſaid: And upon, or about the eighth day of* June, *in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſix hundred forty and five, at the Town of* Leiceſter: *And alſo, upon the fourteenth day of the ſame Month, in the ſame year,*

at

at Naſeby-field, *in the County of* Northampton. *At which ſeveral Times and Places, or moſt of them, and at many other places in this Land. at ſeveral other times, within the years aforementioned: And in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſix hundred fourty and ſix, He the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *hath cauſed and procured many thouſands of the free-People of the Nation to be ſlain; and by* Diviſions, Parties, and Inſurrections, *within this Land, by Invaſions from Foraign parts, endeavoured and procured by Him, and by* many other evil ways and means. *He the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *hath not only* maintain'd and carried *on the ſaid War,* both by Land and Sea, *during the years before mentioned; but alſo* hath renewed, *or* cauſed *to be renewed,* the ſaid War *againſt the* Parliament, and good People *of this* Nation, *in this preſent year, one thouſand ſix hundred forty and eight, in the Counties of* Kent, Eſſex, Surrey, Suſſex, Middleſex, *and many other Counties and Places in* England *and* Wales, *and alſo by Sea; And particularly, He the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *hath for that purpoſe,* Given Commiſſions to his Son, *the Prince, and others; whereby,* Beſides multitudes of other Perſons, *many ſuch, as were by the* Parliament Intruſted and Imployed, *for the ſafety of the* Nation; *being by Him or His Agents corrupted; to the betraying of their* Truſt, *and revolting from the* Parliament, *have had Entertainment and Commiſſion, for the continuing and renewing of* War *and* Hoſtility, *againſt the ſaid* Parliament and People, *as aforeſaid. By which* Cruel and Unnatual Wars *by Him, the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *Levyed, Continued, and Renewed, as foreſaid, much* Innocent Blood *of the* Free-People *of this* Nation *hath been* Spilt; *many* Families *have been* undone, *the* Publick Treaſury Waſted and Exhauſted, Trade obſtructed, *and* miſerably decayed; vaſt Expence *and* Damage *to the* Nation incurred, *and many* parts *of the* Land ſpoiled, *ſome of them even to* Deſolation.

And for further proſecution of His ſaid Evil Deſigns, *He, the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *doth ſtill continue His Commiſſions to the ſaid* Prince, *and other* Rebels *and* Revolters, *both* Engliſh *and* Forraigners; *and to the Earl of* Ormond, *and to the* Iriſh Rebels *and* Revolters, *aſſociated with Him; from whom further* In-

vaſions *upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement, and on the behalf of the ſaid* Charles Stuart.

All which wicked Deſigns, Wars, *and evil Practices of Him, the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *have been and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the Perſonal Intereſt of* Will and Power, *and pretended* Prerogative *to Himſelf and his Family, againſt the publick Intereſt, Common-Right, Liberty, Juſtice, and Peace* of the People of this Nation, *by, and for whom he was entruſted, as aforeſaid.*

By all which it appeareth, that He, the ſaid Charles Stuart *hath been, and is the Occaſioner, Author, and Contriver of the ſaid Unnatural, Cruel, and Bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treaſons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Deſolations, Damage and Miſchief to this Nation, acted or committed in the ſaid Wars, or occaſioned thereby.*

And the ſaid John Cook, *by Proteſtation ſaving on the behalf of the People of* England, *the liberty of Exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other Charge againſt the ſaid* Charles Stuart; *and alſo of replying to the Anſwers which the ſaid* Charles Stuart *ſhall make to the Premiſes, or any of them, or any other Charge that ſhall be ſo Exhibited) doth, for the ſaid* Treaſons *and* Crimes, *on the behalf of the ſaid People of* England, *Impeach the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *as a* Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, *and a* publick, *and* Implacable Enemy *to the Common wealth of* England: *And pray, That the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *King of* England, *may be put to anſwer* All *and* Every *the* Premiſes, *That ſuch* Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence, *and* Judgement *may be thereupon had, or ſhall be agreeable to Juſtice.*

A Perfect

NARRATIVE

Of the whole

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

High Court of Justice

in the Tryal *of the* KING *in* VVestminminster-Hall, Saturday Jan. 20. 1648.

AT the High Court of Justice sitting in the Great Hall at *Westminster*, Serjant *Bradshaw* Lord President, and about Seventy Members present, [*O Yes*] made, Silence Commanded.

The act of the Commons in Parliament (for the Tryal of the *King*) was read, after the Court was called, and each Member rising up as he was called.

The King *came into the Court (with His Hat on) the Serjant usher'd him in with the Mace: Coll.* Hacker, *and about thirty Officers and Gentlemen more, came as his Guard.*

Lord President, CHARLES STUART *King* of *England*, the Commons of *England*, assembled in Parliament, being sensible of the great Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation, and of the Innocent Blood that hath been shed in this Nation, which are referred to you as the Author of it; and according to that duty which they

owe

owe to God, to the Nation, and to themſelves; and according to that Power and Fundamental Truſt that is repoſed in them by the People, have conſtituted this High Court of Juſtice, before which you are now brought, and you are to hear your Charge, upon which the Court will proceed.

Mr. Cook *Solicitor General.* My Lord, in behalf of the Commons of *England,* and of all the People thereof, I do accuſe *Charles Stuart,* here preſent, of High Treaſon, and high Miſdemeanors; and I do, in the Name of the Commons of *England,* deſire the Charge may be read unto him.

King. *Hold a little.*

Lord Preſident. Sir, the Court commands the Charge to be read, if you have any thing to ſay afterwards, you may be heard.

The Charge read.

The King ſmiled often during the time, eſpecially at theſe words, Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, *and publick Enemy of the Commonwealth.*

Lord Preſident. Sir, you have now heard your Charge read, containing ſuch matter as appears in it; you find, That in the cloſe of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the Commons of *England,* That you anſwer to your Charge. The Court expects your anſwer.

King. *I would know by what Power I am called hither? I was not long ago in the* Iſle of Wight, *how I came there, is a longer ſtory than I think is fit at this time for me to ſpeak of; but there I entered into a Treaty with both Houſes of Parliament, with as much publick Faith as its poſſible to be had of any people in the world. I Treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and Treated honeſtly and uprightly, I cannot ſay but they did very Nobly with me, we were upon a concluſion of the Treaty. Now I would know by what Authority, (I mean) Lawful; there are many unlawful Authorities in the world, Thieves and Robbers by the high ways; but I would know by what Authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (and I know not what) and when I know what lawful Authority, I ſhall anſwer. Remember I am your King, your lawful King, and what ſins you bring upon your heads, and the Judgment of God upon this Land, think well upon it, I ſay, think well upon it, before you go further from one ſin to a greater, therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am ſeated here, and I ſhall not be unwilling to anſwer? in the mean time I ſhall not betray my Truſt; I have a Truſt committed to me by God, by old and lawful Deſcent, I will not betray it to anſwer to a new unlawful Authority; therefore reſolve me that, and you ſhall hear more of me.*

Lord Preſident. If you had been pleaſed to have obſerved what was hinted to you by the Court, at your firſt coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority requires you in the name of

the

the People of *England*, of which you are Elected King, to answer them.

King. *No Sir, I deny that.*

Lord President. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they must proceed.

King. *I do tell them so,* England *was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for near these thousand years, therefore let me know by what Authority I am called hither? I do stand more for the liberty of my People than any here that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and I will answer it, otherwise I will not answer it.*

Lord President. Sir, how really you have managed your Trust, is known; your way of answer is to interrogate the Court, which beseems not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. *Here is a Gentleman, Leiut. Col.* Cobbet, *(ask him) if he did not bring me from the* Isle of Wight *by force? I do not come here as submitting to the Court; I will stand as much for the Priviledge of the House of Commons, rightly understood, as any Man here whatsoever. I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament, and (the King too) should have been. Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the publick Faith of the world? Let me see a legal Authority warranted by the word of God, the Scriptures; or warranted by the Constitutions of the Kingdom, and I will answer.*

Lord President, Sir, You have propounded a Question, and have been answered; seeing You will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed, in the meam time, those that brought you hither are to take charge of you back again

The Court desires to know, whether this be all the answer you will give, or no.

King. *Sir, I desire that you would give me, and all the World, satisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not a slight thing you are about. I am sworn to keep the Peace by that duty I owe to God and my Countrey, and I will do it to the last breath of my Body, and therefore you shall do well to satisfie first God, and then the Country, by what Authority you do it, if you do it by a Usurped Authority, you cannot answer it. There is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you Power, to account; Satisfie me in that, and I will answer, otherwise I betray my Trust, and the Liberties of the People, and therefore think of that, and then I shall be willing. For I do avow, That it is a great sin to withstand Lawful Authority, as it is to submit to a Tyrannical, or any otherwise unlawful Authority, and therefore satisfie me that, and you shall receive my answer.*

Lord President. The Court expects you should give them a final answer, their purpose is to adjourn till *Monday* next, if you do not satisfie yourself, tho' we do tell you our Authority, we are satisfied with our

Authority, and it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms, and that Peace you ſpeak of, will be kept in the doing of Juſtice, and that's our preſent Work.

King. *For anſwer let me tell you, you have ſhewn no lawful Authority to ſatisfie any reaſonable Man.*

Lord Preſid. That is in your apprehenſion, we are ſatisfied that are your Judges.

King. *'Tis not my apprehenſion, nor yours neither, (that ought to decide it.)*

Lord Preſid. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be diſpoſed of as they have commanded.

The Court adjourns to the *Painted Chamber* on *Monday* at 10 of the Clock in the Forenoon, and thence hither.

It is to be obſerved, That as the Charge was reading againſt the King, the head of His Staff fell off, which He wondered at, and ſeeing none to take it up, He ſtoops for it Himſelf.

As the King went away, (facing the Court,) ſaid, *I do not fear that,* (meaning the Sword.) The People in the *Hall* as he went down the Stairs, cried out, ſome, *God Save the King,* and moſt for *Juſtice.*

At the High Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter-Hall, Monday January *the* 22d. 1648.

O Yes made. Silence commanded. The Court call'd and anſwer'd to their Names.

Silence commanded upon pain of Impriſonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all ſuch as make diſturbance.

Upon the Kings coming in, a ſhout was made.

Command given by the Court to the Captain of the Guard, to fetch and take into his Cuſtody, thoſe who make any diſturbance.

Mr. Soliſitor. May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, my Lord *Preſident.*

I did at the laſt Court in the behalf of the Commons of *England,* exhibite and give into this Court a Charge of High Treaſon, and other high Crimes againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuſe him in the Name of the People of *England,* and the Charge was read unto him, and his anſwer required. My Lord, he was not then pleaſed to give an anſwer, but inſtead of anſwering did there diſpute the Authority of this high Court. My humble motion to this high Court in behalf of the Kingdom of *England* is, That the Priſoner may be directed

to

a direct and positive answer. My Lord, besides this great delay of Justice, I shall now humbly move your Lordship for speedy Judgment against him. My Lord, I might press your Lorship upon the whole, that according to the known Rules of the Laws of the Land, That if a Prisoner shall stand as contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an issuable Plea, Guilty or not Guilty of the Charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal; That as by an implicite Confession, it may be taken *pro confesso*, as it hath been done to those who have deserved more favour than the Prisoner at the Bar has done; But besides, my Lord, I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the whole Fact; The House of Commons, the Supream Authority and Jurisdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That it is notorious, That the matter of the Charge is true, as it is truth (my Lord) as clear as Chrystal, and as the Sun that shines at noon-day, which if your Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding, on the People of *England*'s behalf, several Witnesses to produce; And therefore I do humbly pray, and yet I must confess it is not so much I, as the Innocent Blood that hath been shed, the cry whereof is very great for Justice and Judgment, and therefore I do humbly pray, That speedy Judgment be pronounced against the Prisoner at the Bar.

Lord President. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Counsel on the behalf of the Kingdom, against you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget what delatory dealings the Court hath found at your hands, you were pleased to propound some Questions, you have had your Resolution upon them. You were told over and over again, That the Court did affirm their own Jurisdiction, That it was not for you, nor any other Man, to dispute the Jurisdiction of the Supream and Highest Authority of *England*, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which, there must be no dispute; yet you did persist in such carriage, as you gave no manner of Obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the High Court, that constituted this Court of Justice.

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not be thus authorized by the Supream Court of *England*, to be thus trifled withal, and that they might in Justice, if they pleased, and according to the Rules of Justice, take advantage of these delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgment against you, yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction; and on their behalfs, I do require you, That you make positive answer unto this Charge that is against you Sir, in plain for Justice knows no respect of Persons; you are to give your and final answer in plain *English*, whether you be Guilty o of these Treasons laid to your Charge.

The King after a little pause, said,

When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the People of England; *I was interrupted: I desire to know yet, whether I may speak freely or not?*

Lord President. Sir, you have had the Resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last day, and you were told, That having such a Charge of so high a Nature against you, and your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your Charge. Sir, if you answer to your Charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the advantage of your contempt; yet if you be able to answer to your Charge, when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But Sir I must let you know from the Court, as their commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive answer concerning the matter that is charg'd upon you.

King. *For the Charge, I value it not a rush, it is the Liberty of the People of* England *that I stand for; for me to acknowledge a new Court that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an example to all the People of* England, *for to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws; indeed I do not know how to do it; you spoke very well the first day that I came here,* (*on* Saturday) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the Liberties of my People: *the same Obligation you spake of, I do acknowledge to God that I owe to him, and to my People, to defend as much as in me lies, the antient Laws of the Kingdom, therefore, until that I may know that this is not against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by your favour I can put in no particular* * *Charge: If you will give me time, I will shew you my reasons why I cannot do it, and this* ——:

Here being interrupted, he said,

By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me; how I came here, I know not, there's no Law for it to make your King your Prisoner: I was in a Treaty upon the publick Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known —— *two Houses of Parliament that was the Representative of the Kingdom, and when that I had almost made an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away and brought hither, and therefore* ——

Here the Lord President said, Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. *By your favour Sir:*

* This is as the K. expres'd, but I supposed he meant Answer.

Lord

Lord Preſident. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into thoſe Diſcourſes; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, but once more, they command you to give your poſitive anſwer.

Clerk. Do your Duty.

King. *Duty Sir!*

The Clerk reads.

CHARLES STUART King of England, You are accuſed in the behalf of the Commons of England, of divers high Crimes and Treaſons, which Charge hath been read unto You, the Court now requires You to give Your poſitive and final Anſwer, by way of Confeſſion or Denial of the Charge.

King. *Sir, I ſay again to you, ſo that I might give ſatisfaction to the People of* England, *of the clearneſs of my proceeding, not by way of Anſwer, not in this way, but to ſatisfie them, that I have done nothing againſt that Truſt that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a new Court againſt their Priviledges, to alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, Sir, you muſt excuſe me.*

Lord Preſident. Sir, this is the third time that you have publickly diſown'd this Court, and put an affront upon it. How far you have preſerv'd Priviledges of the People, your actions have ſpoke it; but truly Sir, Mens intentions ought to be known by their actions, you have Written your meaning in Bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom; but Sir, you underſtand the pleaſure of the Court, ——— Clerk Record the default, ——— and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Priſoner, take him back again.

King. *I will only ſay this one word more to you, if it were only my own particular, I would not ſay any more, nor interrupt you.*

Lord Preſident. Sir, you have heard the pleaſure of the Court, and you are, (notwithſtanding you will not underſtand it) to find that you are before a Court of Juſtice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard, and Proclamation was made, that all Perſons which had then appear'd, and had further to do at the Court. might depart into the *Painted-Chamber*, to which place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in *Weſtminſter-Hall* by Ten of the Clock the next Morning.

Cryer. God bleſs the Kingdom of *England.*

Wednesday January 24th. 1648.

THis day it was expected the High Court of Justice would have met in *Westminster-Hall*, about Ten of the Clock, but at the same time appointed one of the Ushers by the direction of the Court (then sitting in the *Painted-Chamber*) gave notice to the People there Assembled, That in Regard the Court was then upon the Examination of Witnesses in Relation to present Affairs, in the *Painted-Chamber*, they could not sit there, but all Persons appointed to be there, were to appear upon further Summons.

THE

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE High Court of Justice

Sitting at VVestminster-Hall, Saturday Jan. 27. 1648.

O Yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called.

First, The Lord President, (who was in a Scarlet Vesture, befitting the business of the day.) After him 67. Members more answered to their Names.

The King came in, in his wonted Posture (with his Hat on.)

A Cry made in the Hall (as he passed to the Court) for Justice and Execution.

O Yes made: And Silence commanded. The Captain of the Guard Commanded to take into Custody such as made any Disturbance.

Upon the Kings coming, he desired to be heard.

To which the Lord President answered, That it might be in time, but that he must hear the Court first.

The King prest it, *For that he believed it would be in Order to what the Court would say, and that an hasty Judgment may not so soon recalled.*

Then the Lord President spoke as followeth.

Gentlemen, It is well known to all, or most of you here present, that the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convented, and

brought before this Court to make Answer to a Charge of Treason, and other High Crimes exhibited against Him in the Name of the People of * *England*. To which Charge, being required to Answer, He hath been so far from obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice, as He began to take upon Him Reasoning and Debate unto the Authority of the Court, and to the Highest Court that appointed them, and to Try and to Judge Him; but being over-ruled in that, and required to make His Answer, he was still pleased to continue Contumelious, and to refuse to submit to Answer; hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themselves, nor the Trust reposed in them, nor that any mans wilfulness prevent Justice, they have thought fit to take the matter into their Consideration, they have considered of the Charge, they have considered of the Contumacy, and of that Confession which in Law doth arise upon that Contumacy; they have likewise considered of the Notoriety of the Fact Charged upon this Prisoner, and upon the whole matter; they are resolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounced against this Prisoner, but in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced; the Court hath resolved that they will hear Him: Yet Sir, Thus much I must tell you before hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts, That if that which you have to say be to offer any Debate concerning the Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have struck at the Root, that is, the Power and the supream Authority of the Commons of *England*, which this Court will not admit a Debate of, and which indeed it is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them. But Sir, If you have any thing to say in Defence of your self, concerning the matter Charged, the Court hath given me in command to let you know they will hear you.

* *Here a Malignant Lady interrupted the Court, (saying, not half the People) but she was soon silenced*

Then the King Answered.

Since that I see you will not hear any thing of Debate, concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it, I shall speak nothing to it; but only I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from Me, but that that I call dearer to Me then my Life, which is my Conscience and my Honour; and if I had a respect to my life more then the Peace of the Kingdom, the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should have made a particular Defence for my self, for by that, at least wise, I might have delayed any ugly Sentence, which I believe will

pass

paſs upon me; therefore certainly, Sir, as a man that hath ſome underſtanding, ſome knowledge of the World; if that my true zeal to my Country had not over born the care that I have for my own Preſervation, I ſhould have gone another way to work then that I have done: Now Sir, I conceive, that an haſty Sentence once paſt may ſooner be repented of then recalled, and truly the ſelf ſame deſire that I have for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject more then my own particular ends, makes me now at laſt deſire, That I having ſomething to ſay that concerns both: I deſire before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber *before the Lords and Commons: This delay cannot be prejudicial unto you whatſoever I ſay: If that I ſay no Reaſon, thoſe that hear me muſt be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that that I have; if it be Reaſon, and really for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am ſure on't it is very well worth the hearing; therefore I do conjure you, as you love that that you pretend, (I hope its real,) the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me this Hearing before any Sentence be paſt; I only deſire this, That you will take this into your conſideration, it may be you have not heard of it beforehand, if you will I will retire, and you may think of it; but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do proteſt, That theſe fair ſhews of Liberty and Peace are pure ſhews, and that you will not hear your King.*

The Lord Preſident ſaid.

That what the King had ſaid, was a declining of the Juriſdiction of the Court, which was the thing wherein he was limited before.

The King urged.

That what he had to ſay, was not a declining of the Court, but for the Peace of the Kingdom, and Liberty of the Subject.

Lord Preſident.

Sir, This is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, though it is the firſt time, that in Perſon, you have offered it to the Court: And afterwards, That though what he had urged might ſeem to tend to delays, yet according to that which the King ſeem'd to deſire, the Court would withdraw for a time, and he ſhould hear their pleaſure.

Then the Court withdrawing into the Court of *Wards*, The *Sergeant at Arms* had command to withdraw the Priſoner, and to give Order for his Return again.

The

The Court after about half an hours debate, return'd from the Court of *Wards* Chamber: And the King being sent for, the Lord President spoke to this effect.

Sir, You were pleased to make a motion here to the Court, touching the propounding of somewhat to the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, for the Peace of the Kingdom; you did in effect receive an Answer, before their adjourning, being *pro forma tantum*, for it did not seem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing; they have considered of what you have moved, and of their own Authority: The Return from the Court is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and they are Judges appointed by the highest Authority, and Judges are no more to delay, then they are to deny Justice; they are good words in the great old Charter of *England*, *Nulli Negabimus, nulli condemus, & nulli deferemus Justitiam:* But every man observes you have delay'd them in your Contempt and Default, for which they might long since have proceeded to Judgment against you; and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to Sentence and to Judgement, and that's their unanimous Resolution.

King

King Charles I.

HIS

SPEECH

Made upon the Scaffold at *White-Hall*-Gate, *immediately before His Execution.*

Tuesday January the 30th. 1648.

ABout Ten in the Morning, the King was brought from St. James's, walking on foot through the Park, with a Regiment of Foot, part before and part behind Him, with Colours flying, Drums beating, His private Guard of Partizans, with some of His Gentlemen before, and some behind bare headed, Dr. Juxon next behind Him, and Coll. Thomlinson (who had the Charge of Him) talking with the King bare headed, from the Park, up the Stairs into the Gallary, and so into the

the * Cabinet-Chamber, *where He us'd to lie, where He continued at His Devotion, refusing to Dine, (having before taken the Sacrament) only about an hour before he came forth, he drank a glass of Claret Wine, and eat a piece of Bread about Twelve at noon.*

* *It is observed, The K. desired to have the use of the* Cabinet, *& the little Room next it, where there was a Trap-door.*

From thence he was accompanied by Dr. Juxon, *Coll.* Thomlinson, *and other Officers, formerly appointed to attend Him, and the private Guard of* Partizans, *with Musquetiers on each side, through the* Banqueting-House *adjoyning, to which the * Scaffold was erected, between* White-Hall-Gate *and the Gate leading into the Gallary from St.* James's: *The Scaffold was hung round with Black, and the Floor covered with* Black, *and the Ax and the Block laid in the midle of the Scaffold. There were divers Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horse placed on the one side the Scaffold towards* King-street, *and on the other side towards* Charing-Cross, *and the multitudes of People that came to be Spectators, very great.*

* *It was near (if not in) the very place where the first blood in the beginning of the late Troubles was shed, when the Kings Cavaliers fell upon the Citizens, killed one, and wounded about 50 others.*

The King being come upon the Scaffold, looked very earnestly on the Block, and asked Coll. Hacker *if there were no higher; and He spake thus, (directing His Speech chiefly to Collonel* Thomlinson.

A *KING.*

KING.

I Shall be very little heard of any body here, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word unto you here; indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace, would make ſome Men think that I did ſubmit to the Guilt, as well as to the Puniſhment; but I think it is my Duty to God firſt, and to my Countrey, for to clear my ſelf both as an honeſt Man, and a good King, and a good Chriſtian. I ſhall begin firſt with my Innocency, in troth I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this, for all the World knows that I did never begin a War with the two Houſes of Parliament, and I call God to witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, that I never did intend for to incroach upon their Priviledges. They began upon me, it is the Militia, they began upon, they confeſs that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me; and to be ſhort, if any body will look to the Dates of Commiſſions, of Their Commiſſions and Mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, will ſee clearly that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I; ſo that the as guilt of theſe Enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope in God that God will clear me of it, I will not, I am in Charity; God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parliament, there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt; for I do believe that ill Inſtruments between Them and Me, has been the chief Cauſe of all this blood ſhed; ſo that by way of ſpeaking, as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: Yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay that God's Judgments are juſt upon me. Many times he does pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence, that is ordinary; I

* *Strafford* will only ſay this, That an unjuſt Sentence * that I ſuffer'd for to take effect, is puniſhed now, by an unjuſt Sentence upon me; that is, ſo far I have ſaid, to ſhew you that I am an Innocent Man.

Now for to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian: I hope there is * a good Man that will bear me witneſs, That I have forgiven all the World; and even thoſe in particular, that have been the chief cauſers of my Death; who they are, God knows, I do not deſire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity muſt go farther, I wiſh that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great ſin in that particular; I pray God with St. *Stephen*, That *this be not laid to their Charge*; nay, not only ſo, but that they may take the right way to the Peace of the Kingdom, for my Charity commands me not only to forgive particular Men, but my Charity commands Me to endeavour to the laſt gaſp the Peace of the Kingdoms: So (Sirs) I do wiſh with all my Soul, and I do hope (there is * ſome here will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom. Now (Sirs) I muſt ſhew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in a way; Firſt, you are out of the way, for certainly all the way you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conqueſt; certainly this is an ill way, for Conqueſt (Sir) in my Opinon, is never juſt, except there be a good juſt Cauſe, either for matter of Wrong or juſt Title, and then if you go beyond it, the firſt Quarrel that you have to it, that makes it unjuſt at the end, that was juſt at firſt: But if it be only matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery; as a Pirate ſaid to *Alexander*, That *he was the Great Robber, he was but a Petty Robber*; and ſo, Sir. I do think the way that you are in, is much out of the way. Nor Sir, for to put you in the way, believe it you will never do right, nor God will never pro-

* *Pointing to Doctor Juxon.*

* *Turning to ſome Gentlemen that wrote.*

prosper you, until you give God his due, the King his due, (that is, my Successors) and the People their due; I am as much for them as any of you: You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to his Scripture) which is now out of order: For to set you in a way particularly now I cannot, but only this, A national Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this; when, that every Opinon is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not (*then turning to a Gentleman that touched the Ax, said,* Hurt not the Ax that may hurt me. * For the King:) The Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns my own particular, I only give you a touch of it.

* *Meaning if he did blunt the edge.*

For the People. And truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any body whomsoever; but I must tell you, That their Liberty and their Freedom, consists in having of Government; those Laws, by which their Life and their Goods, may be most their own. It is not for having share in the Government (Sir) that is nothing pertaining to them. A Subject and a Sovereign, are clean different things; and therefore, until they do that, I mean, That you do put the People in that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, It was for this, that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore, I tell you, (and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge) That I am the Martyr of the People.

In troth Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer; for I will only say this to you, That in truth, I could have desired

fired ſome little time longer, becauſe I would have put this that I have ſaid, in a little more order, and a little better digeſted, than I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuſe me.

I have delivered my Conſcience, I pray God that you do take thoſe courſes that are beſt for the good of the Kingdom and your own Salvations.

Doctor Juxon.

Will Your Majeſty (though it may be very well known Your Majeſty's Affections to Religion, yet it may be expected, That You ſhould) ſay ſomewhat for the Worlds ſatisfaction.

KING.

I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that, I had almoſt forgotten it. In troth Sirs, My Conſcience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore, I declare before you all, That I die a Chriſtian according to the Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, as I found it left Me by My Father; and this honeſt Man * I think will witneſs it. Then turning to the Officers, ſaid, Sirs, excuſe me for this fame. I have a good Cauſe, and I have a Gracious God; I will ſay no more. Turning to Collonel *Hacker*, He ſaid, Take care that they do not put Me to pain, and Sir this, and it pleaſe you: But then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King ſaid, Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax. Then the King ſpeaking to the Executioner, ſaid, I ſhall ſay but very ſhort Prayers, and when I thruſt out my hands. —— Then he called to Doctor *Juxon* for His Night-Cap, and having put it on, He ſaid to the Executioner, Does my Hair trouble you? *Who deſired Him to put it all under His Cap, which*

* Pointing to Doctor Juxon.

the

the King did accordingly, by the help of the Executioner and the Bishop: then the King turning to Doctor Juxon, *said*, I have a good Cause, and a gracious God on My side.

Doctor Juxon.

There is but one Stage more. This Stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one: But You may consider it will soon carry You a very great way from Earth to Heaven; and there You shall find a great deal of Cordial Joy, and Comfort.

KING.

I go from a Corruptible, to an Incorruptible Crown; where no Disturbance can be, no Disturbance in the World.

Doctor Juxon.

You are Exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown, a good Exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, Is my Hair well: *Then the King took off his Cloak and his* George, *giving his* George *to Doctor* Juxon, *saying,* Remember * ——— *Then the King put off his Dublet, and being in his Wastcoat, put his Cloak on again, then looking upon the Block, said to the Executioner,* You must set it fast.

* It is thought for to give it to the Prince.

Executioner, *It is fast Sir.*
King, It might have been a little higher.
Executioner, *It can be no higher Sir.*
King, When I put out my Hands this way * then ——

* *Stretching them out.*

After

After that having ſaid two or three Words (as he ſtood) to Himſelf, with Hands and Eyes lift up; immediatly ſtooping down, laid his Neck upon the Block: And then the Executioner *again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King ſaid,* * Stay for the ſign.

* Thinking he had been going to ſtrike.

Executioner, *Yes, I will, and it pleaſe Your Majeſty.*

And after a little pauſe, the King ſtretching forth His Hands, The Executioner at one Blow, ſevered his Head from Body.

That when the King's Head was cut off, the Executioner held it up, and ſhew'd it to the Spectators.

And His Body was put in a Coffin, covered with black Velvet, for that purpoſe.

Sic tranſit gloria mundi.

FINIS.

F202530